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ABSTRACT

The National Education Association (NEA) was significantly influenced by Margaret Haley's early 20th century probe into its power structure. As a reformer committed to the democratic process, Miss Haley became an active member of the NEA in 1900. At this time, the organization was dominated by a group of male educators (college presidents, principals, and government officials) who were commonly referred to as "the ring" or "the old guard." Miss Haley's dedication to democratic justice in the name of the common individual led her to question the legitimacy of this oligarchial governing body which considered lightly the demands of the women teachers who comprised nine-tenths of NEA membership. During 39 years as business representative for the Chicago Teachers Federation, Haley participated in many reform battles over teachers' salaries, taxes, and pensions. With experience gained from these political activities, Haley dared to oppose Commissioner William Torrey Harris and other NEA leaders at NEA conventions in 1901, 1903, and 1905. Among the issues over which Haley disagreed with "the ring" were their (1) autocratic policies resulting in proposals for a federal charter; (2) proposed changes to the voting regulations to exclude new members; and (3) support of tax-dodging business companies, such as railroads and textbook corporations. Under Haley's leadership, dissident members of the NEA petitioned for numerous reforms, all of which were won by 1912. These included greater representation of all NEA members and creation of a department of classroom teachers. (Author/DB)

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THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD:

MARGARET A. HALEY AND THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE NEA

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> The teachers' fight has never been a fight for themselves, but one in the general cause of liberty. The teachers' fight was not a selfish fight. It was a fight for a time-honored institution, the free public schools.... as a means of maintaining democracy in America .... It began to run amuck whenever it disturbed a pampered interest.[1]

When Margaret Haley of Chicago became an active member of the National Education Association in 1900 the organization was largely dominated by a group of men commonly called "the ring" or the "old guard." The group had as its leaders Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; William Torrey Harris, U.S. Commissioner of Education; Irwin Shepard, Principal of the Normal School at Winona, Minnesota; Newton C. Dougherty, Superintendent of Schools in Peoria, Illinois; James Greenwood, Superintendent of Kansas City; William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of New York City; Louis F. Soldan, Superintendent of St. Louis; and Aaron Gove, Superintendent of Denver. Yet, the largest body of educators in attendance and those contributing eighty to ninety percent of the revenues were the teachers. Most of them were associate members because the dues were more affordable, but this meant they had no voting privileges.

As a reformer committed to the democratic process, Miss Margaret Haley began her probe into the oligarchic power structure in 1901. When she had finished in 1912 the transformation toward democracy was significant. Her strength of character was instrumental in this change.

The metamorphosis can best be seen by focusing on the events and activities surrounding the following NEA conventions: Detroit and Minneapolis in 1901-02; Boston and St. Louis in 1903-04; Asbury Park in 1905; and Boston, San Francisco and Chicago for the years 1910, 1911 and

1912. It will be most pertinent to examine these periods after developing Margaret Haley's personality.

The Way She Was

Haley brought a rather unusual, yet remarkable, set of personality traits to her endeavors. When it came to seeking democratic justice in the name of the common individual there was just no stopping her. She had been endowed with leadership ability, a quick outspoken wit which could be provoked to anger, determination and perserverence. All of this led her to be characterized by some as "lady labor slugger," and "Prime Minister" of the NEA insurgents. She was even "Lionized" when she was victorious over the old guard. Others, who were deceived by her small frame and Irish dark hair and blue eyes were often misled into underestimating her powerful character.[2]

Her thirty-nine year career as business representative for the Chicago Teachers Federation (CTF) took her through such reform battles as teacher salary schedules and pensions; tax adjustments and property reassessments; initiative and referendum; and enfranchisement for women. She characterized the environment in which she carried out her activities as a "Battleground," and retirement came to her when she died at the age of seventy-nine.

However, until her involvement in the tax fight in 1899, reason to use these personal qualities had lain dormant, but the seeds were visible as early as 1878 when she was sixteen. That was the year her father lost his stone quarry after refusing to become involved in bribes for contracts and graft policics. His unethical business partners had an

injunction placed on his quarry, so that he could no longer bid on contracts. To Maggie, second in age of eight children (but first in capability), fell the responsibility of helping out the family. They had never had financial difficulties, and prior to that June day when the court issued the injunction, Margaret had thought she would attend college. In fact, the court decision came on the very day she was graduating from a Catholic convent school in Morris, Illinois where her family lived.[3]

Mrs. Haley never questioned her husband's decision, because she thought he was right. Similarly, although the shock at such a sudden change in her future plans was great, "Maggie" did not hesitate in changing her future plans: she took a summer normal course and entered the teaching profession in fall. She taught in several schools near Morris before coming to Chicago with her family. She also took more normal courses – this time under the popular and capable direction of Francis W. Parker, head of the Cook County Normal. Sixteen years later she helped to organize the CTF whose original purpose was to implement a pension plan for Chicago teachers and gain better working conditions for these women teachers.[4]

Throughout her career the attitude that best described her approach was one which combined a commitment to honesty with dogged determination to get the facts and win the battle for democracy and justice. For example, when ex-Governor and Attorney John P. Altgeld told her that she was right to seek the tax dodgers, but that she would never win, her reply was "I did not see why we should not win if we were right."[5] And when certain friends questioned her ability to accept

speaking engagements from teachers' groups throughout the country, Miss Haley simply announced that until now she had had nothing to say, but since fighting for the teachers' cause, it was easy to speak. Conversely, most crowds found her to be quite an inspiring speaker.[6]

Her knowledge of government, law, economics, labor, business, and politics grew with every fight, and her ability as a lobbyist was an added asset. However, back in 1901 when the old guard first experienced these budding qualities of hers, they were not alone in underestimating their full blossom. Later on, the corporate and political structure of Chicago would be lamenting the fact that they had not nipped Haley and the CTF in the bud when it first appeared.[7]

Her First Encounter with the Old Guard

When Margaret Haley strolled over to Detroit's Light Guard Armory that hot July morning to listen to one of the general sessions of the NEA, she could little imagine that she would find herself engaged in verbal combat with Dr. William Torrey Harris, U.S. Commissioner of Education who was addressing the session. The year was 1901, and Haley had already become a controversial figure in educational and political circles. The activities which were responsible for such attention centered around her efforts to bring large Chicago tax dodging corporations under the law. The resulting tax revenues were to be used to pay the city's grade teachers their salary increases. These revenues had been cut the previous two years, because the school fund was depleted.[8] Since January 1900 Miss Haley had been out of the classroom representing the Chicago Teachers' Federation in litigation to bring about tax reforms.

Listening to Dr. Harris and the following three discussants Haley could not help but feel irritated at the overly optimistic educational picture presented. Harris quoted statistics showing the great increase in high school students, buildings, and equipment over the last ten years. The first respondent expressed the hope that the Rockefellers and Carnegies would someday see the wisdom in giving donations to the public schools, and the last respondent went so far as to say that Harris' figures revealed an educational sky "without a cloud" and "progress was assured."[9] The audience was stupefied by now and to bring back some enthusiasm and interest the chair did an unusual thing: he threw the meeting open to discussion. Haley also responded unusually for a female grade teacher: she stood and addressed the chair. She began by saying that she hoped private big business would never make such donations, because it would seal the mouths of every "teacher knowing that private funds were her support." Secondly, she stated that while schools and students had increased, revenues had not — a fact of which she felt the audience was aware, since most of them were underpaid teachers. The applause echoed the large armory after this last statement. Then, more facts tumbled out as she told of the utility corporations and railroads that escaped paying millions of tax dollars in every city in the nation just as they did in Chicago.[10]

Harris could no longer refrain himself. He ambled to his feet and pointed his finger at Haley.

> "Pay no attention to what that teacher down there has said, for I take it she is a grade teacher, just out of her school room at the end of [the] school year, worn out, tired, and hysterical. I have repeatedly said that these meetings held at this time of the year are a mistake and if there are any

> more hysterical outbursts, after this I shall insist that these meetings be held at some other time of the year. Chicago is no criterion for other parts of the country but it is morbid, cyclonic and hysterical and you can never tell what is going to happen in Chicago."[11]

He went on to explain that he knew the Vanderbilts and their railroading system of reducing two parallel competing railroads to one, thereby eliminating the cost of duplicate maintenance and offices. Then, he sat down and Secretary Irwin Shepard of Minnesota tried to redirect the meeting by turning to the announcement part of the program. But Maggie Haley could not be stopped. She rose and was recognized by the chair again:

> I am a grade teacher, I plead guilty to Dr. Harris' charge, but I am not just out of my school room, I have been out for nearly two years working on this tax question as it affects the railroads and public utility corporations and I know what I am talking about. I have the facts. Dr. Harris, either you do not know or have not stated the facts.... If it be morbid to go into the courts and get an opinion which I have little doubt will be sustained by the higher court of our state, ordering the taxing officers to return and assess property of five public corporations, amounting to two million dollars ... and if it is hysterical to go before the people and tell them these facts, then we in Chicago plead guilty to your charge.... But I should think this audience would be glad that there is one morbid place in the United States and they should hope with me that the hysteria would become contagious.

By now Harris realized who she was and how much of a mistake it was to overtly attack the person whose cause was becoming so popular with the teachers. He tried to apologize, but mostly he retreated from combat saying that he was not aware of who she was. For him the incident was closed; he had won.[12] The meeting adjourned and teachers rushed to congratulate the CTF leader. Many teachers throughout the country – especially the women – were slowly waking up to the oppressive, autocratic conditions under which they worked. That was one reason for Haley's

growing popularity as a speaker, and a result of this awakening was the emergence of the National Federation of Teachers at Los Angeles in 1899. From its onset this group met concurrently with the NEA conventions in hopes of influencing ring leaders to take a stand in favor of better conditions for teachers. In 1902 they met during the Minneapolis Convention, adopted a constitution, and elected Margaret Haley as President. Prior to the meeting NEA President Beardshear of Iowa State University worried over how the meetings would go. Harris had been confronted by Haley the year before, the National Federation of Teachers was growing stronger, and most importantly he had invited his friend and former alumnus of Iowa State University, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to address the convention. With respect to Mrs. Catt his major concern was in the fact that her speech would advocate co-education in higher education. This was a policy to which Columbia President and old guard leader, Nicholas Murray Butler was opposed.[13]

However, his fears appeared to be unfounded as the meeting came off smoothly without clashes. The most sobering note of the convention was President Beardshear's poor health. He had suddenly become ill on the trip to Minnesota and was confined to bed. (To the shock of everyone he died a few weeks later in early August of heart failure.)[14]

Another Encounter, Another Victory

In 1903 Margaret Haley arranged to have a program for the National Federation meetings in Boston. University of Chicago Professor Ella Flagg Young was chosen along with William McAndrew, Principal of the Girls Technical High School in New York City. They boasted a greater

attendance at their meetings than any of the NEA meetings.

However, this was not the biggest windfall to hit the old guard leaders. That, once again, came when Miss Haley addressed the chair at the NEA business meeting. At this meeting held on July 9, Butler proposed an amendment to the Bylaws. This proposal rankled not only Haley and the teachers, but also Journal of Education Editor A. E. Winship of Boston; Western Teacher Editor S. Y. Gillan of Milwaukee; and Superintendent Carroll G. Pearse of Omaha. The amendment had to do with the manner of electing state members of the nominating committee, who in turn, drew up the slate of officers for the following year. To date the procedure was to be as follows: a majority of the "active members from such state or territory present at the meeting called for the purpose of making such nomination," should elect a member who would then be appointed to the committee by the President at the third session of the convention. If less than three state members were in attendance or if a state failed to settle its majority on one individual, the President appointed a member without state concurrence.[15] Butler, however, stated that such a procedure was not workable; because state caucuses seldom had a majority of convention members attending. These situations represented minority interests. In other cases, states did not meet at all and the nomination was left to the President. Consequently, Butler proposed an amendment that would leave the selection entirely to Presidential appointment. He particularly used the state of Illinois as his example of an unworkable arrangement. They had 111 members attend their nominating committee caucus. They voted seventy-four to thirty-seven in favor of Miss Kate Starr Kellogg – clearly a majority of those in attendance as called for

in the Bylaws. But said Butler, Illinois had 150 members at the convention of which seventy-four is not a majority. Therefore, said Butler minority interests of Illinois were represented in such a choice.[16]

Immediately, Haley rose and was recognized. She stated that Illinois had done her part with a larger number of active members than any other state. She continued:

> Are you men anxious to block Illinois because you fear that women will have a part in your deliberations and help to select the officers of the organization? It looks like it, and Dr. Butler's motion, which may or may not be directed against Illinois, will certainly keep out the women, who form nine-tenths of the membership of the National Educational Association. We of Illinois propose to wake up the women teachers and to demand for them the recognition which is their due. It is unfair for you, gentlemen, to attack the women in this way and place in the hands of one man the representation of all the states. The election of a member of the nominating committee should go to the one getting the largest number of votes. Would you men dare to take away the franchise from citizens because only a few of them vote at primary elections? Then how dare you suggest to take away the franchise of those members of this association who are present at the nominating meeting? I move that Dr. Butler's motion be postponed for one year.[17]

NEA President Charles Eliot of Harvard tried to support Butler's amendment, but Haley continued to point out flaws. For example, the president could appoint a committee who would do whatever bidding said president wanted. "The plan would simply mean a self-perpetuating machine," declared Miss Haley.[18] Pearse suggested an amendment to Butler's proposal and the amendment carried by a viva voce vote. The latter declared that a majority of any state's meeting choosing a nominating committee delegate would be sufficient to elect the member.

Butler reminded them that the amended amendment would need to carry by a two-thirds vote. It did: 123 for – 43 against. Needless to say,

Miss Haley withdrew her motion to postpone for a year.[19]

Another minor victory was seen when the Committee on resolutions was charged with the task of investigating teachers working conditions, and the National Council voted appropriations for this probe. This resolution had originally been adopted by the National Federation of Teachers during their concurrent sessions.[20]

The following year Miss Haley was also asked to address the convention. Her topic "Why Teachers Should Organize," was the first time such a topic had appeared on the program. The convention was in St. Louis and New York City's Superintendent William Maxwell was the newly elected NEA President to succeed John W. Cook of Illinois.[22]

An embarrassment for the old guard came in 1905 when Butler's friend and Board of Trustee Associate Superintendent Newton C. Dougherty of Peoria, Illinois was indicted and finally convicted of embezzling school funds.[23] He lost much of the embezzled funds through poor investments, but he boasted of the fact that his stock market tips came from his friend in New York, Nicholas Murray Butler.[24] No connection to tampering with NEA funds was ever found, but his conviction bothered many NEA members and created a great deal of suspicion about the condition of the permanent fund. These concerns were not eased until 1911. In the meantime, Haley and others continued to remind members of Dougherty's prominent role in the NEA even though his name was withdrawn from the list of Trustees and life directors.[25]

A Temporary Defeat

The corporate charter for the NEA was about to expire (February 1906). Consequently, one of the necessary items to consider in the various business meetings at the 1905 convention was the approval of a recharter. It should have been a simple task of reapproving the continuing corporate existence of the association so that an appropriate certificate could be filed with the proper official in Washington, D.C. However, it was not such a simple matter. The small, but very important, body of Trustees – Albert G. Lane of Chicago, Nicholas M. Butler of Columbia, Newton C. Dougherty of Peoria, Louis F. Soldan of St. Louis, and William H. Maxwell of New York City – had drawn up a new document which they presented to the Board of Directors.

There were fundamental differences in the proposal, and they particularly bothered certain directors, such as, A. S. Downing of New York; A. E. Winship of Boston, and J. W. Crabtree of Nebraska. It called for the following changes:

1. The charter would dissolve the old association and reincorporate it as a federal Act of Congress, which meant that it could not be altered without congressional approval;
2. It recognized seventeen, instead of eighteen departments to be under the direction of the association's active membership;
3. The other eighteenth department, the National Council of Education, was recognized as an autonomous, self-perpetuating group, not accountable to the actives;
4. Without the approval of the Directors or the association, the Board of Trustees could expend the permanent fund, not just

for publishing the Proceedings, but also for maintaining the association.[26]

Much wrangling ensued. The major thrust of concern revolved around Section 7 which gave the Trustees power to expend the fund. The proposal was returned to the Trustees with the request that they amend Section 7 and report back to a special Directors meeting.

The new amendment report altered Section 7 in the following ways: the Board of Directors was substituted for the Trustees with regard to authorizing permanent fund expenditures as long as it was used to publish the Proceedings and maintain the organization; and any other expenditure had to be recommended by the trustees, approved by a majority vote of the directors and accepted by a two-thirds vote of the active membership. (A printed notice of the proposed expenditure was to be mailed to said membership.)[27]

The Directors approved the charter with amendment and the federal proposal bill was ready to be approved at the active business meeting which was inconveniently called for 12:00 noon on Thursday, July 6.

When the designated time rolled around many members were eager to go to lunch after a long morning of sessions. Yet, here was a surprise charter which had changes that were not readily understood. Soldan presented the charter for approval, and explained the Section 7 amendment, and Lane moved that it be accepted. It was seconded. Haley tried to make a point of order in that voting was out of order at this time, because the charter made fundamental changes which needed to be laid over for a year after notice. Maxwell "gavelled" her down by stating simply that her point of order was not well taken.[28] Haley's Irish temper

flared. Gillan followed her with a point of information concerning membership. Haley rose again to a point of order. She was ruled out of order. She was furious. Gillan, again, followed with a point of information this time concerning the National Council: Did the bill refer to the present self-perpetuating council? The answer was yes. Haley asked for information: Was removing the council as a department not a substantial change? Maxwell said it was not intended to be, regardless of how it was worded, and called for the question for substituting Section 7. The motion carried.[29]

Amidst cries of "Let's go to dinner" Maxwell called for adoption of the Directors resolution as amended which was to federally reincorporate the NEA. Gillan offered a substitute motion of rechartering as the old corporation, instead of reincorporating. The motion was seconded, but tabled for a year. Then, Maxwell returned to the proposal bill. It carried, and the old guard trustees were victorious.[30]

The battle was not over yet. The bill still had to pass Congress. The correspondence between Haley, Gillan, and their teacher friend in Washington, D.C., Anna Murphy, flew.[31] Gillan proposed to campaign for their cause by enlisting the support of sympathetic state members. They, in turn, could talk to their Congressmen. Gillan was convinced that defeat had to come in the House; the Senate had too many Butler friends and supporters.[32] Haley consulted lawyers and gathered material to present before the Educational Committee of the House. She asked her friend James Monihan, head of the Department of Indian Affairs, to find out who was on the committee and who was chairing it. In 1910

Monihan told Haley an interesting side note to this episode. After he had sent her that House membership information, he said he was called over to the White House to see President Rooseve t who said, "What's this I hear about your interfering with legislation that my friend Nicholas Murray Butler is interested in?" Monihan indicated that the President gave him too much credit and that he merely supplied a lady in Chicago with the names of membership for a House committee along with its time and meeting place. To this Monihan said that President Roosevelt replied "I do not see that you have done anything that any American gentleman would not be expected to do for any American lady." Monihan replied "I do not see that I ha e done anything that is not demanded by a square deal," to which the President responded "Yes, but I want you to understand that I do not want any head of a department to interfere with any legislation that I or any of my friends are interested in."[33]

Anna Murphy attended the House committee meetings and kept Haley posted as to what they were considering. Finally, on January 18 the committee introduced the NEA Bill. Haley was there; so was Harris and Columbia University attorney and NEA Board of Trustees' representative John B. Pine.

Haley passed out her material to the members explaining how the bill fundamentally altered the constitution. The Chairman asked Pine if this were true. Pine stalled and rambled. The chair proceeded to state that if Pine did not know the answer he would find someone who did. Pine then acknowledged that Haley's material was accurate. Harris, then, jumped to defend the bill by saying that such changes were necessary to keep the NEA from falling in the hands of the mob. Haley listened

while Harris made the issue worse for Pine. Later she recalled, "The cat was out of the bag. Poor old Dr. Harris, as he stood there that day, senile, superanimated, he had [been] driven to the wall, he revealed what the smooth attorney Pine tried to evade by the tricks and wiles of his profession."[34] The house committee reworded the constitution so as to explicitly make the national council subject to the same rules as the departments were. Also, a referendum clause was attached to the bill stating that it would not be in effect until adopted by the active membership. Consequently, the old corporate charter would have to be renewed even if Congress eventually passed the bill prior to the February expiration date.[35]

Haley did something else which probably caused the old guard to delay the bill's introduction to the House: after the January 18 committee meeting she went directly to Arthur Brisbane, editor of the Hearst newspapers whose office was located in New York City. She gave him all of her information, and he wrote a very effective editorial explaining the actions of certain old guard members, who were attempting to limit the teachers' voices in the NEA.[36] Shortly after, Brisbane received a letter from Butler critizing the editorial and claiming its falsity.[37] Such notoriety cooled the heels of old guard leaders, but Haley still kept track of bills introduced in Congress. Then, just as it looked like it would never appear, Haley received a letter from House Representative Henry Rainey to the effect that on April 2, 1906 the bill appeared and passed with a two-thirds vote. They suspended the rules to pass it.[38]

Haley was downcast and shortly took sick with the grippe.[39] Gillan turned out to be right about the Senate. Little opposition was registered

and it was passed as a special Act of Congress on June 30, 1906.[40]

The 1906 national convention, designated for San Francisco, was postponed due to the earthquake. Instead, a special fiftieth anniversary volume was published, thus giving the membership their year's notice.

In 1907 the meeting was held in Los Angeles, but Haley did not attend. She was too involved with CTF problems in the local arena. The charter passed unanimously. However, when friends returned they told her a funny incident. When the bill came up several of the old guard were packed tightly together in the front row. A woman's voice was heard in the back. As if one body, the group stood. However, the woman was not Miss Haley, and greatly relieved, they sat down.[41]

The Final Combat

The 1908 and 1909 national association meetings occurred with little incident. Margaret Haley was busy with administrative struggles in Chicago. These were successfully alleviated in July 1909 when Dr. Ella Flagg Young was elected to the superintendency of Chicago's schools.[42] Young had been a friend and an inspiration to those Chicago teachers struggling for a voice in their own affairs since her days as District Superintendent, 1887-1899. Sometime after her election to the superintendency, the idea occurred to A. E. Winship and probably others that Young would be a good candidate for the NEA presidency. She was approached by Winship and Haley, and after a good bit of persuasive conversation, she reluctantly consented.[43] The campaign to boom her began in spring. Haley organized the efforts at the local level, while another woman took charge of the national scene. The latter was not as

skilled as she could have been, and the national effort was neglected. Those to feel neglected the most were two women representing the New York teachers – Katherine Blake and Grace Strachan. Blake wrote to Haley in April asking for information about Young's campaign. Haley, busy with other activities, failed to answer the letter promptly.[44] Two weeks later Margaret received a letter from a Boston teacher friend indicating that the Boston teachers were all for Mrs. Young. However, said the friend, it was rumored that Grace Strachan was interested in running for the office, and Blake was going to boom her if Chicago failed to rally around Young and gain support from other states. The Boston teachers preferred Young to Strachan, because the former had less enemies and a better personality.[45] Whether Haley forgot about the Blake letter or thought it best to ignore it until the Young campaign was locally strong is unclear. In any event, the rumor festered, and by June Mrs. Young had heard that an Eastern woman was planning to run. She told both Winship and Haley that she intended to withdraw from the race, because she did not want to split up the women by having two female candidates. Haley immediately wired friends in the East to find out what was going on. They all said that they knew of no one campaigning for the office, and Winship was able to dissuade Young from withdrawing.[46] Haley decided that the rumor either came from Blake and Strachan or the old guard who might try to sway Young supporters in a different direction. By mid-June the sway would have been hard to accomplish, because the Chicago boom was strong. Margaret and others had organized a banquet in honor of Mrs. Young's first very successful year as superintendent. Teachers and administrators alike came to the number of over 400. In so doing,

they had pledged their support for her campaign.[47]

However, there were just a few weeks left before the convention when Margaret was reminded that New York was not happy. She quickly wrote long letters of apology to Misses Blake and Strachan and asked belatedly for their support. They replied that New York would work for Young even though their teachers were feeling snubbed at being asked so late.[48] Blake described a procedure that she had used for the 1904 St. Louis campaign to boom their superintendent, William Maxwell to Presidency: they enrolled schools as active members sending a representative to the convention. This way the school helped the teacher pay the active dues, and said school received the Proceedings. She went on to suggest that in this case it would be an effective way to get women present, assuming schools would choose women teachers as their representatives.[49] The suggestion was adopted. Another Eastern teacher proposed that they use campaign buttons, banners, and pamphlets as an effective means of attracting the attention and the votes of the active membership. This was also adopted, and the campaign buttons were printed with the slogan "Young and Active."[50]

The convention began and Young's campaign workers kept close count of state nominating caucuses. If the states failed to elect pro Young nominating committee members, an alternative plan was to be used for her election. A minority report nominating Dr. Young would be offered from the floor to replace the nominating committee report. Then, a vote in favor of the report would mean her election.

The nominating committee met and decided twenty-eight to nineteen in favor of Z. X. Snyder of Colorado. At the active business meeting,

Blake stood from the floor and presented the minority report. Strachan seconded it and the vote, was 617 to 376 in favor of the minority report. Young was elected, and the NEA had its first female superintendent.[51]

The old guard had lost this round, but by no means did they feel that the battle was over even if their forces were somewhat depleted. In 1909 Harris had died, but his last encounter with Haley in the House committee meeting had hardly been useful to their side. Butler counted on his help not at all after that.[52] Also, the Dougherty scandal had hurt them by making an issue out of the permanent fund's condition. Yet, the greatest surprise and weakness for them in 1910 was Butler's failure to attend any of the sessions along with his intention to resign from the Board of Trustees.[53] Old ring leaders like Shepard and Greenwood were left to do the fighting, and fight they did. Shepard made it virtually impossible for Chicago school teachers to register as school representatives by telling them that they were not legally recognized as school appointees. Some teachers then registered in their own names and used their own money. Others, afraid to use school money, registered as nonvoting associate members until a better strategy was figured out: each of these teachers went back to registration and used her own name with her represented school's address. In this way the Proceedings would be sent to the school address and the school money could be used — the money and Proceedings being an equal exchange.[54]

However, this was Shepard's only ammunition, and he was not finished with it yet. Prior to the convention Shepard had sent letters to certain members indicating his intention to stop Chicago schools from registering.[55] After the meetings and through the fall he carried out a vigorous mud

slinging fight with those schools and teachers in hopes of declaring Young's election as fraudulent. His plan was to accuse the Chicago teachers of buying votes by providing the extra money to change memberships from associate to active status.[56] He harrassed them until they retaliated: each made sworn affidavits to Shepard's registration tactics and the various schools supported the legality of their credentials. The newspapers also ran the story; indeed, Shepard's image was tarnished.[57]

Ella Flagg Young was making the ring nervous on another level. Enough members had asked her about the condition of the fund that she determined to have an investigation of its status. Butler quickly changed his mind about resigning and resumed his position as chairman of the Trustees.[58] However, H. B. Brown of Valparaiso had been elected as the temporary chairman in Boston. Consequently, when Butler called a meeting of the Trustees in New York for January 23, 1911, Young refused to recognize him or his call. According to her Brown was chairman and it was in his jurisdiction to call such a meeting. She did not go, but her friend, Trustee Pearse did. He returned thoroughly convinced that they might kill her if she did not drop the investigation. Upon returning from his trip, he walked into Haley's office looking all dishevelled and ashen-faced and saying, "They're going to kill Mrs. Young. I mean it. They're going to kill Mrs. Young."[59] Margaret calmed him down, but was at a loss as to what to think. He told her not to breathe a word to anyone. She was afraid to tell Mrs. Young for fear of alarming her. But she later realized that Pearse, himself, must have given Young some kind of warning, because the NEA president quit talking about any investigation.[60]

Several days later Pearse had recovered his composure and wrote the following description of the meeting to Margaret:

> The [New York Meeting] was a great experience — the most ridiculous and brazen exhibition I have so far known grown men to give. I will send you a copy of the "minutes" in a few days, as soon as I can have some copies made. Brown and Greenwood jumping through the hoop whenever Butler's whip cracked, was illuminating as to the characters of those men. It was worth going to New York to see.

Margaret later learned from a former student and friend of Brown's that as President of Valparaiso Brown was afraid to cross the Columbia President because Butler could virtually squash his Indiana college.[61]

With such activities the 1911 convention in San Francisco could be nothing short of spectacular. The newspapers carried daily accounts of the combat. The Young and Haley forces were referred to as the insurgents, and Shepard and his friends remained the old guard. Again, Butler did not show up, giving his mother's ill health as the reason. He did, instead, send a letter of resignation which was accepted by the Trustees.[62]

The most interesting skirmishes came over: the identification of active members for business meetings; permanent fund reports; the election of new officers; and a consideration for revising the Bylaws. In regard to the first matter, Shepard announced that all active members had to present their dues certificates of receipt in lieu of the customary Blue Badges. This was the old Boston ammunition in new forms. The problem was that he failed to announce it in sufficient time for people to bring receipts with them. President Young responded by appointing a committee who would be responsible for passing on the credentials of those who failed to bring receipts, and Haley gave the story to the newspapers in such a way as to embarrass Shepard.[63] In practice no

active teacher had to suffer with the dilemma of admittance to meetings.

The condition of the permanent fund was discussed from two angles. First, at the Board of Directors meeting, old guard Director and NEA Treasurer, D. W. Springer of Detroit, declared that he was a CPA and had investigated the fund out of his own interest. He said that he found it to be perfectly intact with the present book value being worth $2000 less than par.[64] President Young thanked him very profusely. The tone, however, was a little sarcastic:

> It is very gratifying to know that we have on the board such an embodiment of justice. Mr. Springer has indeed shown his unselfishness and zealous interest in our organization by taking upon himself without solicitation from the chair or directors, such an arduous task as he tells us he has just completed. It is gratifying to know, also, that his investigation has been so thorough. I feel that I cannot thank him sufficiently in words, and can only trust that this organization will find some way to reimburse Mr. Springer for the great amount of time and energy he has so cheerfully devoted to the "rumors."[65]

The sarcasm and suspicion of his motives stemmed from two things. First he had not been authorized to do such an investigation. Old guard leaders had publicly stated that they were greatly offended at such proposterous rumors about the fund. Yet, here was Springer legitimizing such rumors by investigating without authorization. Second her concern was not that the securities were present, but that they were not worth their stated book value. She had consulted brokers, herself, and was able to register this protest at the active business meeting. She had recorded a written protest at the Trustee meeting to the effect that the fund should be invested in municipal, state and government bonds, instead of industrial bonds. When this report with protest was read at the active business meeting, Greenwood jumped to the floor and said that the only time they

lost money was with school bonds. Mrs. Young quickly responded that such a loss occurred a long time ago before the schools were raised to such high standards by the women of the country. Then, she offered to sell some of the industrial bonds, such as the Manhattan Railway, for less than the book amount listed in the report. She said she would be glad to get any price for them. A member wanted to know what they were doing with bonds below par value. When it was explained to him that the stock market controlled such features of high finance, there were shouts throughout the hall calling for women on the Board of Trustees. President Young's protest was adopted by an overwhelming vote of the active members present.[66]

The insurgents were also the victors of the presidential election, and this time it was not through a minority report. Carroll D. Pearse was slated by the nominating committee and approved by the active membership. The one embarrassing moment to Winship came when he was nominated from the floor. There had been reports in the papers that the old guard would use him to draw fire and split the insurgents (or progressives as they were also called) into factions. A woman nominated him, and whether it was part of a ring plot or not is unclear. What was clear was Winship's response – he was humiliated to be used as a pawn to draw fire. He left immediately. The minority report was still used by the insurgents to elect a treasurer. Katherine D. Blake's name was substituted for that of William D. Springer who then withdrew his name from the slate and Blake was elected.[67]

Next came the fight over revising the Bylaws. An old guard committee, headed up by E. O. Lyte, had been appointed in 1909 to revise

them. In 1910 the association voted to have them printed for distribution and consideration at the 1911 meeting.[68] However, by June 1911 many active members had not yet received copies (Haley was one). Such short notice was resented, but Gillan, Pearse, Haley, and others from Chicago and elsewhere vowed to do all they could to defeat them. Gillan wrote to Haley:

> I am credibly informed that "Slippery Jim" of Kansas City has been for several weeks in the states of the Pacific coast ostensibly for the study of industrial education, but really to rally the forces for the San Francisco meeting.
>
> The gentleman from Indiana [Brown] has been won over by the Ring — or he may have always been with them. They clearly have three of the five trustees. I have great faith in the wisdom of Mrs. Young, and I am sure Pearse will stand by her loyally, but they are "up against it."
>
> The Boston victory counts for little unless another is won at San Francisco. Butler is shrewd and vindictive and has the backing of two classes that must be reckoned with — a numerous bunch of sychophants and a group which is less numerous but more influential, the dyed-in-the-wool tories.[69]

Sometime prior to the meeting a plan was devised by insurgent forces and successfully executed: first, the Bylaws were moved and seconded for adoption; and second, the report and motion to adopt were laid on the table for one year.[70] This gave them a year to devise a set of more democratic amendments to these revised Bylaws. Temporarily, the Bylaw battle was stalmated until the following year.

A Voice for the Teachers

One of the most upsetting features of these revised Bylaws concerned membership. Shepard was most interested in changing the old clause. Still fighting the Boston battle, he had suggested to the revising committee that they make voting a right for actives only after they had been

members for at least three months.[71] The committee approved this restriction.

So, between 1911 and 1912 Pearse, Gillan, Haley, and others had drawn up amendments to the revised report. At the 1912 business meeting in Chicago, Principal of the Chicago Normal, William B. Owen read the amendments which had been printed up prior to the meeting. Chairman Lyte was absent, and in his place Durand W. Springer read the committee's revisions. As each one was read, Owen read the new amendments as substitutions for the official revised amendments. The substitutions all passed. The essential changes allowed for greater representation. The three months clause restricting voting privileges was removed, and schools were written into the Bylaws as being qualified members. Whenever possible, the executive committee's replaced any others as the body authorized to execute emergency affairs and make decisions when necessary. As long as the state caucuses electing the members of the nominating committee were growing larger. Hence, the yearly slates of officers, ultimately becoming the executive board, were the most representative body of the association. The 120 member self-perpetuating Board of Directors became a fully elected body with ten members being elected each year for six years.[72]

The other crowning achievement for the teachers was their petition to create a department of classroom teachers. The proposal laid over until 1913 when it was approved. They held their first set of meetings and programs in 1914.[73]

An interesting, as well as embarrassing, situation arose among the so-called progressive ranks during the meetings. Strachan and Blake

wanted the Chicago teachers to support Strachan for president that year. Haley made a special trip to New York to tell them that Chicago educators were not campaigning for any particular individual this year, because they were involved in working up the amendments to the revised Bylaws and then energies were directed to getting them adopted. Both Strachan and Blake told Haley that they were not interested in Bylaws. Blake laid her cards on the table and said that, if Strachan could become NEA president, she could then become superintendent, and she, Blake, would be made district superintendent. (At that time Strachan was a district superintendent and Blake was a principal.) They even threatened to get their mayor to write a letter to Chicago's mayor putting pressure on Dr. Young to support them. Haley said that perhaps those tactics would work in New York, but they would go nowhere in Chicago.

This coercion did not work, and Strachan, with nine New York teachers, left after the sessions, ready to bolt from the NEA, and they despised Chicago. Before they left they managed to bring their fight to the business meeting. Both Strachan and Blake made long speeches accusing Haley and Chicago principals of mob rule. Most did not know what they were talking about and no Chicago educator bothered to legitimize their accusations by responding. When the vote was taken it was not at all close. It was not even necessary to count it. Blake said that it was because teachers were afraid to vote with their superiors present. The newspapers publicized the incident, thus, casting a bad shadow on the insurgent group.[74]

The teachers had introduced a battle for a more democratic association, and by 1912 they had won. Even Shepard resigned from his long-standing position as secretary. The active membership had grown from 2838 in 1901 to 7865 in 1912, and the next eleven-year period would see it rise to 87,414. The bulk increase of both periods came from the teaching force. By 1912 the machinery was there for operating a democratic association, but it remained to be seen if the active membership of the years to come could operate it any more effectively than past groups had. No one knew this better than Haley. She recognized it when she said, "Teachers go to sleep awfully fast if you stop rousing them."[75] She, along with Gillan, Winship and Pearse, had kept them aroused, and it would take others committed to a workable democracy to keep it going.

NOTES

1. See the Margaret A. Haley Papers in the Chicago Teachers' Federation File, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois. Boxes 32-3 contain a set of unpublished autobiographical materials written by Haley on four separate occasions. This quote comes from Version IV, p. 145.

2. For such accounts see daily newspaper articles in such papers as the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Record-Herald during the month of October 1902 when the CTF affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor; Haley autobiography, Version IV, pp.523-24; "Why Chicago Teachers' Federation Unionized," Harper's Weekly 60 (19 June 1915): 598-600; "Miss Haley Is Lionized," The Chicago Tribune, 11 July 1903, p. 4.

3. Haley autobiography, Version II, pp. 400-20; 713-27; 789-800.

4. Ibid., pp. 424-25.

5. Ibid., Version I, Installment 4.

6. Ibid., Version IV, pp.166-70; 387-89.

7. Ibid., Version IV, pp. 523-24.

8. Ibid., Version I, Installments 1-8; Version II, pp. 1-90; Joan K. Smith, "Progressivism and Teacher Union Movement," Educational Studies 7(Spring 1976): 44-61. These all contain accounts of the tax fight which ended in 1906.

9. Haley autobiography, Version II, pp. 64-65.

10. Ibid., p. 67; NEA Proceedings, 1901, pp. 64-67.

11. Ibid., p. 67.

12. Haley autobiography, Version II, p. 68; Lovick Pierce to William Torrey Harris, 22 July 1901; to Anna Tolman Smith, 18 July 1901; Harris to Irwin Shepard, 19 August 1901 and 23 September 1901. The first two letters contain information to the effect that Harris considered himself the victor in the haley confrontation; the second two letters reveal why the Harris-Haley encounter never appeared in the NEA Proceedings and support Haley's version in her autobiography, Version II, pp. 68-69.

13. See papers, letters, and clippings in the William Beardshear Papers, Iowa State University Archives, Ames, Iowa. For Mrs. Catt's address see NEA Proceedings, 1902, p. 100. Butler's stand can be found on p. 14 of Richard Whittemore, Nicholas Murray Butler and Public Education, 1862-1911 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970).

14. The William Beardshear Papers.

15. NEA Proceedings, 1903, p. 4.

16. NEA Proceedings, 1903, pp. 24-28; "Illinois Man President," Boston Evening Transcript, 9 July 1903, p. 1, col. 5; "Woman Won the Day," ibid., p. 2, col.1; "Miss Haley in Fight," Chicago Record-Herald, 10 July 1903; Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin 2, 5 June, 11 September, 18 September 1903.

17. CTF Bulletin, 2, 11 September 1903, p. 2.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. NEA Proceedings, 1903, pp. 29-31; the results never reached the membership.

21. NEA Proceedings, pp. 145-52. After Haley had read her paper Aaron Gove addressed the group on the topic, "Limitations of the Superintendent's Authority and of the Teacher's Authority." The paper revealed prior knowledge of Haley's topic and turned out to be a direct response to hers instead of a succeeding paper. When Miss Haley asked for five minutes from President Cook to answer Gove's charges, Cook said that it could not be done, even though the audience was favorable. He then told the audience that Miss Haley could print a response in the Proceedings. Sometime, after the close of the session, Cook told her that he had exceeded his authority and a response could not be printed. Gove denied ever having known what her topic was to be or even that he was to be on the program with her. However, notices of the groupings went out from Cook to Haley with titles on March 17th. It is unlikely that Gove did not know especially since he and Cook were brothers-in-law. See the correspondence in Box 38 of the CTF Files.

22. NEA Proceedings, pp. 27-28.

23. For accounts of the Dougherty indictment and trial see the daily stories in The Peoria Star for the months of October and November 1905. See especially 5, 30 October, and 1 November 1905.

24. Ibid., 9 October 1906, p. 10; 28 October 1906.

25. NEA Proceedings, 1907, "Officers for 1906-07."

26. NEA Proceedings, 1905, pp. 1-4; 34-36.

27. Ibid., pp. 46-49.

28. Ibid., p. 30.

29. Anna M. Murphy to Margaret A. Haley, 15 January 1906, Box 39, CTF Files; NEA Proceedings, 1905, pp. 32-36.

30. Ibid., p. 30.

31. See correspondence in Box 39, CTF Files.

32. S. Y. Gillan to Margaret Haley, 30 January 1906, ibid.

33. Haley autobiography, Version II, p. 103.

34. Ibid., p. 105. See also Editorials in the New York Journal and The Chicago Record-Herald, 24 January 1906.

35. Haley autobiography, Version II, p. 105; NEA Proceedings, 1905, pp. 34-36.

36. Haley autobiography, Version II, pp. 105-06; Editorials New York Journal, Chicago Record-Herald, 24 January 1906.

37. Haley to Gillan, 6 February 1906, Box 39, CTF Files.

38. Henry T. Rainey to Margaret Haley, 3 April 1906, ibid. See also House Report 592, and U. S Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 4617-22.

39. Catharine Goggin to President, Teachers' Group, Souix City, Iowa, 12 April 1906, CTF Files.

40. U. S. Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 9639-40. See also NEA Proceedings, 1907, p. 1.

41. Haley autobiography, Version II, p. 106.

42. Joan K. Smith, "Progressive School Administration: Ella Flagg Young and the Chicago Schools, 1909-1915," ED 139-681; also to appear in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Summer 1979.

43. Haley Autobiography, "Incidents," precedes Version IV; Catharine Goggin to Elizabeth Allen, 4 May 1910, Box 40, CTF Files.

44. Katherine D. Blake to Margaret Haley, 19 April 1910, ibid.

45. Susan W. FitzGerald to Kate Starr Kellogg, 3 May 1910, ibid.

46. Haley autobiography, "Incidents," precedes Version IV; various telegrams in Box 40, CTF Files.

47. Olive Hyde Foster, "Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Teacher, Woman, Friend," Harper's Bazar[sic] 45, April 1911, p. 174; Margaret Haley to Grace Strachan 20 June 1910, Box 40, CTF Files.

48. Katherine Blake to Margaret Haley, 21 June, and 24 June 1910, ibid.

49. Katherine Blake to Margaret Haley, 19 April 1910, ibid.

50. Haley autobiography, "Incidents," precedes Version IV; Elizabeth A. Allen to Margaret Haley, 23 June 1910, Box 40, CTF Files.

51. NEA Proceedings, 1910, pp. 33-35.

52. Harris resigned from the U. S. Commissioner's job in that same year, 1906. He died in 1909. See Glenn Smith, "The Changing of the Guard: William Torrey Harris and the Passing of the Old Order in the NEA," to be presented at the annual meeting of the AERA in Toronto, 30 March 1978.

53. Butler sent word that he was resigning with A. S. Downing; that if his name was mentioned for reelection to the Trustees(his term was expiring) he did not want to accept. He had written it in a letter to Downing before embarking to Europe, but Downing said that he could not show the letter to the group. The group went ahead and elected him to another four year term, but there was no mention of making him chairman again. They had to wait to find out if he would even accept membership. See NEA Proceedings, 1910, p. 49.

54. Katherine Blake to Margaret Haley, 19 April 1910, Box 40 CTF Files.

55. Margaret Haley to Grace Strachan, 20 June 1910, ibid.

56. See the various correspondence to and from Shepard in Boxes 40 and 41 of the CTF Files. There are also teachers' responses to the letters, plus sworn affidavits testifying to Shepard's activities at the Boston meeting.

57. Ibid.; plus various newspaper clippings in Box 40.

58. Nicholas Murray Butler to Irwin Shepard, 4 November 1910, copy in Box 40 of the CTF Files; Margaret Haley to Grace Strachan 28 November 1910, ibid.

59. Haley autobiography, Version IV, pp. 99.

60. Ibid., pp. 99-102.

61. Carroll G. Pearse to Margaret Haley, 29 January 1911, Box 41, CTF Files; Haley autobiography, Version IV, p. 275.

62. NEA Proceedings, 1911, pp. 40-41.

63. Ibid., pp 43-46; "NEA Insurgents Making Threats," San Francisco Chronicle, 10 July 1911, p. 14; Haley autobiography, Version IV, pp. 101-02. For an introductory account of this fight, see also "Insurgent Crowd Is Here Ready for a Big Fight," San Francisco Chronicle, 9 July 1911, p. 48.

64. NEA Proceedings, 1911, pp. 49-53; 23-26.

65. "Ella Flagg Young Smiles in Defeat and Removes Sting with Diplomacy," San Francisco Chronicle, 11 July 1911, p. 2; NEA Proceedings, 1911, p. 52.

66. An abbreviated account of this dialogue is found on p. 27 of the NEA Proceedings, 1911. For a full account see "Insurgents Rout Forces of Old Guard," San Francisco Chronicle, 14 July 1911, p. 3; and Haley autobiography, Version IV, pp. 99, 276. It is interesting to note that the only

only stocks below par are industrial. Also the most recent acquisition, Manhatten Railway, had mortgage bonds that were not redeemable until 1990. In other words, they had seventy-nine years to pay back $4000 at a four percent interest rate. Out of bonds bought in seven other railroad companies (during Butler's chairmanship) four were redeemable in the 1950s, one in 1941, one in 1929, and one in 1915. All interest rates were four percent, except the latter which was 3 1/2 percent. See NEA Proceedings, 1911, p. 25.

67. "Insurgents Rout Forces of Old Guard," San Francisco Chronicle.

68. NEA Proceedings, 1910, p. 30.

69. S. Y. Gillan to Margaret Haley, 17 January 1911, Box 41, CTF Files.

70. NEA Proceedings, 1911, p. 34.

71. NEA Proceedings, 1912, pp. 48-50.

72. Ibid., pp. 30-73.

73. Ibid., pp. 72-73.

74. Ibid., pp. 34-49; Haley autobiography, Version IV, pp.283-91; "NEA Row Ended; Chicago Vindicated," The Daily Inter-Ocean, 10 July 1912, p. 1.

75. Haley autobiography, Version IV, p. 144. The following published acounts contain material pertaining to this time period in the NEA: Marshall Donley, Power to the Teacher (Bloomington: Indiana University Press published in association with Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), pp. 20-27; William Eaton, The American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), pp. 1-17; Margaret Fenner, NEA History (Washington, DC: The National Education Association, 1956; and Edgar Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1957).